2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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553

one at his first dance, and later on any occasion that he may wish to celebrate. Names are commemorated in poetry.[1]

845

Twins are welcomed and spoken of as *nuole juok*, literally "children of God"; the first is called Angar, the second Tian. The next child born after twins is called Nabol.

593 605

Children are brought up in the house of their father. There is no segregation of the sexes, brother and sister grow up together and may play together, and a boy may beat his sisters if he considers them unruly. The chosen companions of boys appear to be their *uwa* (brothers and ortho-cousins) and of girls their *nyiwa* (sisters and ortho-cousins). Cousins, the children of two brothers or two sisters, may play together in the same way as brothers and sisters, but as a hamlet constitutes the habitation of a group with male descent the children of the brothers are likely to see most of each other when young. If married brothers and sisters happen to live near one another their children—who would be *una*, *nyina*, *uwaja*, and *nywaja* to each other—will have opportunities of meeting, and it seemed that there was no restriction on those of opposite sexes playing together. As women go to live in the *gol* of their husbands, the children of two sisters are unlikely to see much of each other, so that the *una nyima* relationship is unlikely to be an intimate one.

604

There is a certain definite relationship between children and their mother's brother (*na*). It is the mother's brother who usually gives a boy his first spear; he also has a right to some of the cattle given as bride-wealth for his sister's daughter, and might perhaps influence her in her choice of a husband. A girl, considered particularly good-looking, married a Dinka, and it was said that her father and *na* persuaded her to reject her Shilluk suitors and accept the Dinka because he could give many more cattle than the Shilluk. Though the *na* always takes a portion of his sister's daughter's bride-wealth, inheritance being from the father to the son he leaves nothing to his sister's children; his own sons, however, inherit his lien on the bride-wealth of the *nyaka*, i.e. of their own *nywaja* (father's sister's daughter). If a man is well off he may give his sister's son some cattle when he wants to get married, but this is a gift, not an obligation. At a funeral the principal duties fall on the son, but at the final sacrifice the sister's son must sacrifice a sheep or a bull, according to his means.

428 431

The *waja* (father's sister) always contributes two head of cattle

583

[1] Hofmayr, op. cit., 277.

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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the men rose and each made a short speech, to which Aker answered; these speeches were appeals to Nyakang not to let the millet suffer from the ravages of the birds. When all had spoken, Awejok, brother's son to Ayurial, stroked the bull's flank with a spear and then thrust it into the beast. Immediately he ran with the spear to the khor to wash it. The wound was oblique and only a few inches deep. The bull was now guided into the enclosure of the shrine, where it was stabbed again with another spear and led into the enclosure of Kwayo while Aker and the chiefs remained just outside. The groans of the dying bull were heard for some time. The chiefs now followed into the courtyard of Kwayo but we do not know whether any of them entered the hut. The flesh of the sacrifice was divided and eaten subsequently by Aker and the men of Golobogu and Pameiti. A band of warriors in full dress bearing their spears now returned to the dancing-ground, danced once round the sacred enclosure, then knelt down and clapped their hands and went silently away. We were told that the spear used to kill the bull was one presented specially by the king; had one of the original spears of Nyakang been used no one could have eaten the flesh of the bull and survived.

It must be noted that before the ceremony we were told that Ayurial was the hereditary bull slayer, but his paternal nephew certainly thrust the first spear; we did not ascertain whether he or Ayurial finally killed and cut up the beast. Probably the matter was of little consequence, as Ayurial was old and Awejok would succeed him. Before the ceremony we were also told that the beast would be stabbed outside the fence but would enter the shrine before dying, and this was so. The sacred character of the spears was a matter of importance; the large spear referred to above was kept sheathed throughout the ceremony until used to stab the bull, thus emphasizing its sacred quality.

So much for what we saw. We were told that the spear would be washed in the holy water kept in the hut Kwayo and that after this it would be taken to the river to be washed. The right forelimb of the bull would be cut off and shown round the village—we believe that this went to Ayuriel—the rest of the beast was Nyakang's and would be taken to Aker's home, there to be eaten by the old men.

Our description of the worship of Nyakang may conclude with a short account of his appearance in animal form, as well as some reference to the cult of his mother Nikaiya, almost as much crocodile

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

INHERITANCE

The sons inherit the property of their father. The wives of the deceased father are divided among the children, who may, and in most cases do, marry them, except their own mother. It is said that sometimes, when a husband is very old and infirm, his wives put him to death, in order to get a younger companion. On inheritance vide page 113.

DANCING AND WAR-PLAYS

Their chief amusement is dancing. The houses of a village are built in a circle, leaving an open place in their midst. Here the inhabitants assemble in the evening, stretching themselves in the warm ashes or on a skin, or squatting on a piece of ambach; several small fires of cow dung are burning and spread a smoke of strong smell, which is the best protection from mosquito-stings. The events of the day are discussed here, the tobacco pipe and merisa pot going from hand to hand. In the middle of this open place the trunk of a large tree is erected, in which the drums are suspended. With them signals are given in times of danger, but more frequently they are used to accompany the dances of the young people. These public dances are among the greatest events in the lives of the young Shilluks; even old men and women, though not taking an active part, are highly interested in them; sitting before the huts in front of the dancers they constitute a chorus, who accompanies the transactions of the younger generation with loud acclamations or blamings. The dances generally take place during the dry season; they begin at about four o'clock in the afternoon, or, in case there is moonshine, later in the evening, and last from three to five hours or longer. As a rule one village invites its neighbours by a drum signal given in the early morning of the day fixed for a dance. On hearing this signal the young people show a great zeal in preparing their body, hairdress and the ornaments worn on the occasion. They go to the village in groups or single, men and girls separately. Usually the youths perform some war-dance in full arms at first, in which the girls do not partake; they form a large circle in four or two rows, and while the drum is being beaten, begin dancing and singing war songs. The dance consists in jumping on the toe and at the same time moving slowly forward. These rhythmical movements are from time to time interrupted by a group of dancers violently rushing out of the circle, howling and shouting aloud, brandishing their spears with fierce looks, and performing mock fights or playing pantomimes, in which they exhibit very remarkable ability. Scenes from the hunting, pastoral and agricultural life are represented with such a dramatic vivacity that they richly deserve the applause they earn.

On a given signal, spears, clubs and shields are laid aside and put together in one place, and now the second part, in which the girls partake, begins. The latter have till then been waiting in a separate place, where the female lookers-on are gathered. Each girl selects her own dancer. First the men form again a

When a man dies, and he has children, his property

*539 son; the younger son (or sons) remains without anything. All the cattle too are
●428 taken by the eldest son; and if the eldest son is good, he divides the cattle
578 between himself and his brothers, but if he is bad, he keeps all the cattle for
593 himself. In this case hey fight, and the cattle is taken away (by force) by the
626 younger brother (or brothers). But then all the people come, and they talk about the matter, and they say (to the younger brothers) thus: "Why, your elder brother, he refused to give you cattle, and now *you* want to keep it all? What for? If later on any debts (which your father may have contracted or which may fall on you) appear, you being his sole heir, will have to pay all: so the people divide the cattle; the elder brother gets his part, and the younger one gets his part. After that they again hold a big palaver, and they make friends; water is poured on the ground, and so they are reconciled. The eldest son gets many cows (or property), because he is the chief of the family, the younger one does not get so much. And if afterwards any debts are to be paid, the elder one will pay them, the younger remaining free. The younger brother marries a wife with his cattle; that is all, thus the matter is settled.

*539 The wives of the dead man are treated (done with) thus: the elder brother
587 of the dead man comes and takes one, and the younger brother also comes
768 and takes one.[1] And if they beget children from these wives, they belong to the
611 family of the dead man; they are (like) his (own) children (they live in the house of the eldest brother.) The eldest wife of the deceased, the mother of the children, remains with the eldest brother. — So is it exactly.

18. Murder.

*539 *Dâŋ lɛ́pè, ywôdé, ɛ bíɛ̀ wɔ̀k, ka kɛ̂l, ka chíkì kèlɔ̀, ka nan ɛni e rɛ́ɲɔ̀, ka biɛ bɛ kwɔ̂p: yá nɛka ɖâŋ a war! Ká bûl gɔ̂ch, ka tɛ̄rɔ biɛ wɔ̀k, ka tyɛn a mɛn kɛ̀tɛ bɛ yɛ́kɛ́ jam, gɛ kân. Ka tyɛ̀kɛ̀ bɛ̄nɔ, len rìt; ka fach yâk, gyɛn mâk, ka byɛl kɛ̂l. Ka tɛ̄rɔ bɛ̄nɔ, ɖɔk a kɛ̂l fōtɛ Jaŋ. Ka ɲi u dɔk leɲe rìt, ká ɖɔ̀k dùɔ̀k. Ka ɖɔk aryɛu gɔ́ɲ yi jāgɔ, ka mūje rìt, ka rìt e wɛ̄rɔ̀, ká è kɔ̀: kɛ́t, chôl! Ka tɛ̄rɔ chùdɔ̀, ka mɛn e kānɔ ɖeaŋ, ka mɛn e kānɔ ɖeaŋ, ka ɖɔk e tûmɔ̀, ga pyārɔ. Ka chwɔk wúr, ka e bɛ̄nɔ, ka biɛ yi jāgɔ, kine: kwɔ́p bɛ̀dà dì? Kine: kwɔf á ţùm. Ka ɖɔk kɛ̂l, ka gɛ tyɛ́r, ka gɛ mūjɔ ki dyɛk, mɔk kwache tyɛn rìt. Ka tyɛn rìt yiɛ̀ɲɔ̀, kine: ɖâŋ rach! Ka nɛ̀kɛ̀ ki ɖeaŋ mɛ̀kɔ, ka ɖɔk kɛ̂l, ka tyɛn rìt e bɛ̄nɔ, kɛta Fashōdɔ ki tyɛn ɖâŋ, tyɛn ɖâŋɔ ţōtɛ ɖɔk abich. Ka rìt kɛ̄lɔ ɖɔk abich, wat akyɛl ywɔk nál ɛní.*

*539 A man hides in an ambush; when he perceives his adversary, he comes out
682 and stabs him, and he stabs him a second time. Then this man (the murderer) runs away home, and comes to tell the people of his village: "I have killed a man last night." Then the drum is beaten, the people come out from their houses, and

[1] The sons marry their father's wives, but not their own mother.

having a great number of local branches, or lineages, spread throughout Shillukland, and there are no periodic reunions.

Members of a lineage are bound not only by kinship ties but also by ties arising through occupation of the same territory. The lineage is an effective political and social unit. A person generally thinks in terms of his localised lineage and refers most often to the founder of his lineage in the district occupied. In relation to members of lineages of other clans, however, reference is most likely to be made to the founding ancestor of a person's clan. As previously mentioned, the occupants of a settlement belong to a collection of independent lineages which graft themselves onto the genealogical structure of the dominant lineage through marriage with its female members.

INHERITANCE

Only the smallest lineage unit is of any importance in the inheritance of property. Pumphrey states that there are no definite rules for the inheritance of chattels.(1) If distribution has not been made before death they are usually taken by the eldest son, or by the next of kin where there are no sons. Cattle are taken by the succeeding *gol* leader, either a married son or a married brother. He cannot do exactly as he likes with them for he inherits certain traditional obligations. He has the moral obligation to use his herds for providing bridewealth to enable the male members of the *gol* to marry, in order of seniority, and it is considered wrong for a *gol* leader to marry a second time himself while there are men of his *gol* still unmarried and requiring cattle. The *gol* leader is also responsible for paying compensation in cattle for any wrong which has been committed by one of his household. Finally, it is recognised that no cattle of the family herds should be sold except in times of famine and to purchase grain. Pumphrey states that a breach of these terms of trust would "be universally censured but would probably not be interfered with by the courts."(2)

Uncultivated land belongs to anyone who settles on it.

MARRIAGE

The Shilluk are polygynous; a wealthy and influential man has three or four wives, while members of the *kwareth* may have several more. Marriage is forbidden with any member of one's father's clan and between all persons in respect of whom relationship, either through the father or mother, could be traced directly. Apart from these obstacles it appears that freedom of choice is generally allowed to both sexes in matrimonial matters.

Bridewealth

Bridewealth consists of ten head of cattle and sheep and spears. In addition the suitor makes small gifts and performs services to win the favour of his future father- and mother-in-law. Bridewealth discussions and arguments proceed between representatives appointed by the suitor's *gol* and by the girl's gol.

(1) Pumphrey, *S.N.R.* 1941, Vol.XXIV, p.24.
(2) *Ibid.*, p.23.

778 782 made at all times of stress and misfortune. Everything round a shrine is sacred, especially trees - they are particularly rare in Shillukland in any case.

643 776 805 Certain Shilluk kings, particular incarnations of Nyikang, tend to be identified with particular species of animals. If such an animal approaches the shrine without signs of fear, it is assumed to be the form in which Nyikang appears, and a sacrifice is offered at the shrine. Almost any unusual behaviour on the part of an animal would lead the Shilluk to look on it as a temporary incarnation of Nyikang. Nyikang's mother, Nikaiva, is reputed to have been a crocodile and is believed to live in the river in that form. A sacrifice is made to her by throwing a live sheep into the river. The crocodile is generally spared even though these creatures are a danger in river crossings.

177 794 There is a limited cult of the Dinka spirit Dengsit, and also a belief in the spirits of the bush and river.

THE CULT OF THE ANCESTORS

769 775 Beliefs concerning the ancestral spirits are vague. Reference is made to *pun juok*, 'the country of the dead', which is reached by the spirit after long wandering through the bush, but it is also believed that the spirit persists in or around the grave. Offerings and sacrifices are made to the ancestral spirits by the head of a household or local lineage on behalf of the descendants. If there is sickness or misfortune or the possibility of danger, a person will pray to his ancestors and make an animal sacrifice to propitiate them.

The ancestral cult seems, however, to be overshadowed by the national cult of Nyikang and the royal ancestors.

TOTEMIC BELIEFS

771 825 Seligman suggests that Shilluk totemism may have been derived from the Dinka because it seems so slight and unimportant. According to Hofmayr and Westermann the clans appear to have totems and some clans derive themselves from an animal or fish which Nyikang took and turned into people in order to populate the country. Hofmayr states that totem animals are [824] often killed but it is considered wrong to eat them.(1) Most totems are animals but a few are plants. Children inherit their totems from their [428] fathers; a woman keeps hers even when she is married.(2)

MAGICAL PRACTICES

The Witchdoctor (Ajuago)

756 791 787 *Ajuago* means 'man of Juok'. Such people are regarded as possessing certain magical powers which they use for the good of the community. People go to them when they are in need of help and pay them for their assistance. The powers of the *ajuago* are believed to be due to their

(1) Hofmayr, *Die Schilluk*, 1925, p.235.
(2) *Ibid.*

8:Howell E-4,5 (1937, 1948) 1953 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

tant among the Nuer and Dinka, does not usually arise. The Shilluk seem to attach greater significance to physical paternity than do other Nilotes and the *okeijo* male will usually be linked to the name of his *genitor*, even though this carries with it no legal rights. In the case of males there is often a tendency on the part of the maternal uncle or his heirs to deny to the *okeijo* rights of inheritance or full participation in the reciprocal privileges of the lineage, so that his status is sometimes precarious and indeterminate.

Unlike the Nuer and Dinka, the Shilluk have no 'Ghost-Marriage'.[1] It is not stated as a fundamental obligation of kinship that a wife should be 'married to the name' of a dead kinsman, though the sentiment which dictates the custom among the Nuer and Dinka is not absent among the Shilluk. In this sense the Nuer and Dinka system is perhaps more individual than that of the Shilluk. Among the Shilluk continuity of the kinship group, not of the individual, is assured by normal legal marriage with cattle which might well have been used by the deceased for this purpose, but are not transferred in his name. Names are retained, however, by a belief in reincarnation. It is believed that the spirit of some ancestor appears in the new-born child which is then named after the ancestor. At the birth of every child a ceremony is performed, usually with the assistance of a *bag reth* who specializes in such matters, to determine this. The participants will ask, '*men akal yi min*?—'This one is brought by whom?' This accounts for the repetition of names in Shilluk genealogies, irrespective of sex, since there is no reason why the spirit of a female ancestor should not enter a male child or vice versa.

As will be seen later, a man who seduces a girl, if she subsequently gives birth to a child, cannot assume legal parenthood of his offspring except by marrying the mother and then only if at least some of the bridewealth cattle have been transferred, and the initial processes of marriage performed before the child is born. Theoretically, at least, children born out of wedlock cannot be legitimized and must therefore remain *okeijo*. This does not apply if the father is betrothed to the girl at the time, provided that he eventually completes the marriage payments. It often happens, however, that a child born in these circumstances is adopted by the man who subsequently marries the mother, and marriage in these conditions usually brings with it legal parenthood of children born out of wedlock.

Violation of Rights in Women

Seduction of Unmarried or Betrothed Girls and Adultery

The seduction of unmarried girls is accounted a serious wrong among the Shilluk and one which demands compensation. The wrong is referred to as *kwor kwoh nian ajur* and compensation is assessed, both currently and traditionally, at one ox. Pumphrey remarks that,

> **. . . an original seduction often eventuates in marriage, in which case the seduction payment is payable first and the marriage payment after (and over and above it). In such cases also marriage dates from the acceptance of the sheep and it is improbable that the girl's family will accept it until the seduction payment is completed.[2]**

[1] See Evans-Pritchard: 'Some Aspects of Marriage and the Family among the Nuer', *Zeitschrift für Vergleichende Rechtswissenschaft*, 1938 and Rhodes-Livingstone Inst. 1948.

[2] Pumphrey: unpublished records.

15: Oyler M-5 (ca. 1918) 1926 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

After a boy has danced for a year or two, he may dance with a married woman who has no children. After another lapse of time he is eligible to dance with the mother of one child, and so on until he is eligible to dance with any woman. A man never dances with his own wife. Often the girl who first dances with a boy is in love with him, and sometimes they later get married. Such marriages are usually happy. If a young man is not asked by a girl to dance with her within two or three years of his initiation, it is not likely that any girl will ask him to dance with her, as the other girls would ridicule her for dancing with an unpopular man. Such a man usually experiences difficulty in getting a wife, as no woman wants to marry a man who is unpopular with the women. The mother of the young man who has been asked to dance prepares a feast for the girl who asked him to dance, and sometimes the girl prepares a return feast for the young man and some of his friends. Many an old man speaks with great respect of the girl who first asked him to dance. When a man is dancing with a woman he calls her (cīgā) " my wife."

If a boy makes unseemly haste to call on the young ladies after his initiation, his father is angry, and says, " Is your reason for dancing to get the right to call on the women ? "

After a boy has danced he takes a second name. He may choose his own name, often from something he has done, or from a cow he has bought. If he cannot think of a suitable name he may ask his friends for suggestions. In some cases an older man may go to him and say, " Do you have a name ? " If he replies in the negative, the man may make a suggestion. The boy does not announce his name to his parents. They may hear his young friends call him by his new name, and they ask, " Is that his name now ? "

If a man dies leaving only a small son who has not danced, they say, " His property is on the ground (jumę̱ ya pi̱ñ). Later when the boy has danced, they say his property has been inherited (alukę̱).

People who are of the same age are called (ti̱ñ ayaj). They are expected to help each other.

The girls may dance when they are very small, but they must wear a sheep-skin. Later, when the girl is larger, and her breasts begin to develop (ti̱nę̱ atwi) she wears a calf-skin, which is supplied her by her father. If she has no father or close male relative to get her a calf-skin, she will wear the sheep-skin until she is married, and then her husband

177 422 436 Recently, owing to the cultivation of cotton and to the increase in demand for work at Malakal and elsewhere, the value of money has come to be more appreciated. Most of the money so acquired is stored up for the purchase of a bull, very little being spent in shops. [454 556] The purchaser of a bull not unreasonably objects to its going into the maw of the *gol* herd and accordingly deposits it for safe keeping with a distant friend. This innovation, which is no less than the introduction of a system of private ownership of cattle, is calculated to work [684] eventually a deep change in customary law. The growth of cash-mindness has already resulted in cash being sometimes substituted for a bull in cases of payments in compensation for sexual wrongs. No case is known where cash has been accepted instead of one or more of the bride wealth cattle, but this would be logically the next step. [182 583] The effect of a change to cash bride wealth would be large. The present system makes for tribal cohesion and for the administratively convenient system of vicarious responsibility, whereas cash marriage payments would loosen remaining cohesion of the *gol* and render each man responsible for himself. Cattle would cease to become a medium of exchange in marriage contracts and become a commodity. The innumerable goats would cease to eat up the cotton and the products [146] of the Mission gardens and instead themselves be eaten, much to the benefit of the Shilluk physique according to medical opinion. The economic absurdity of the Malakal Hospital contractor being sometimes compelled to import tinned milk by air so as not to forfeit his deposit would be avoided. The possibility of such economic advantages is to be set against the consequent lessening of tribal cohesion.

SUCCESSION.

● 428 567 There are no definite rules for the inheritance of chattels. Distribution usually takes place before death. If not they will generally be taken by the eldest son, or, in default of sons, by the next-of-kin to the deceased. The inheritance of chattels rarely produces litigation.

428 592 Cattle are taken by the succeeding *gol* leader, who may be a married son or a married brother according to circumstances. In any case the new *gol* leader holds the cattle inherited under the same trust as

17: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1938) 1941
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

that under which the deceased held them. For example if a man dies leaving four sons, two married and two unmarried, the two unmarried sons will join the *gol* of their eldest married brother, who thereupon becomes to them *in loco parentis* and their *gol* leader. With this addition to his *gol* the eldest married brother will take also the cattle which used to belong to the deceased, his father, but he will hold them "on trust" for the marriage of these two brothers.

THE MARRIAGE TIE.

Marriage marks the assumption of personal responsibility, signified outwardly by the acquisition of a homestead. A man wishes to marry as many wives as he can because, although a man with one wife is a full member of society, he who has three or four (more being unusual outside the *Kwar Reth*), is a man of substance and power. This is because his *gol* will become large and powerful and in a position to dominate in its locality. Where an appeal to the spear is an ever present possibility there is definite strength in numbers. There is no place in society for batchelors or spinsters of mature age, and in fact with the exception of *Reth's* daughters and the mentally deficient they hardly exist. Women outnumber men, so that polygyny is reasonable and almost necessary.

The marriage tie creates an obligation to pay cattle, but it is not created by or dependent upon such payment. To render a union a marriage only two things are essential. First there must be no positive barrier, (such as known consanguinity between the parties, whether through male or female lines of descent) and secondly there must be an offer and an acceptance. The offer and acceptance are symbolised by the man offering to the women's *gol* a sheep (*dyel dhok*). Acceptance of this sheep signifies acceptance of the suitor. The marriage is then complete. There follows the beer brewing (*tieng mogho*) and a wedding dance which is held in the woman's village and which serves the important purpose of fixing the marriage in the minds of the public. The completion of the cattle payments (*kany*) may be delayed over a period of years, and until they are complete the woman usually continues to live in her own homestead where her husband may visit

recite it, but in any case it is given as an illustration of the process of fission and the development of offshoots typical to any Shilluk clan lineage and might well be done in figures only. *Debalo*, founded by *Pyem* who was reduced to the status of *Ororo* from the *Kwar Reth*, was the first hamlet to be founded. *Pyem* had three grandsons, one of whom, *Odheh*, migrated to a spot a few hundred yards away, in the direction of *Tonga*, and there founded *Acop*. *Acop* is now the central and most important hamlet in the settlement and is the home of *Jago Ameileh*[3] who holds the *Lau Dwong* of the settlement and indeed the whole of *Tonga*.

There is no apparent reason why *Debalo* should cease to be the most important village, but the leadership of the *Kwar Nyimol* has for some time been in that branch of the lineage who occupy *Acop*. The *Lau Dwong* is not necessarily inherited by an eldest son, or by a son resident in his father's hamlet. There are no rules of primogeniture and the choice was made with the approval of all members of the lineage. Even other lineages have some say in the matter and the appointment must be confirmed by the *Reth*. Accession to the title of *Jago* is thus controlled by the personality, prestige and competence of the claimant. *Acop* has been the seat of the *Jago* at least for the last three generations. *Debalo* and *Acop* are the parent hamlets of two separate lines of segmentation. From *Debalo* sprang all the hamlets situated to the east, while from *Acop*, which was itself founded from *Debalo*, sprang the hamlets in *Yom* stretching towards *Tonga*. The process of fission which can be traced on the genealogical chart is substantiated by many members of *Kwar Nyimol*.

The smaller hamlets which lie beyond the water-course behind *Dhok Alal*, provide more recent examples of this breaking away of individuals and the foundation of new hamlets. They have not yet grown large enough to acquire a separate entity and they are still considered part of their parent hamlets. *Pa Gither* remains one homestead only, while its extension though more recent is larger. *Pa Gither* sprang from *Debalo*. In the case of *Pa Mayuk*, *Okwano* the son fo

3. *Jago Ameileh* is now dead.

766 Arrangements were made immediately to transport his body to Fashoda, where he should have died, and a steamer left early the next morning. From Fashoda he was carried to Debwor, a small village nearby which had been expressly made for this purpose and the untraditional manner of his passing does not seem to have caused much comment among the Shilluk themselves. The body was seen by Mr. J. L. Baker, District Commissioner of the Shilluk, on the morning of the 10th and he describes it as being shrouded in white cloth and fanned by his sisters with white goose feathers. There was, in fact, some delay in the preparation of the body, since his death had occurred away from the capital, but after some special ivory bangles had been fetched from Famadh, he was placed according to custom inside a hut in the village of Debwor. The body was laid on a specially constructed bier (*pam*);[1] a rectangular construction lined on the outside with fish-spears and covered with a white cloth. The hut was then sealed up and large numbers of Shilluk, mainly from nearby settlements, arrived to pay their homage in the traditional [643] manner. The obsequies were completed by the 12th May, and thereafter the electoral college met to elect the new *reth*, Kur *wad* Fafiti.

643 It is apparently the *reth*-elect who decides when the reburial and 644 mourning ceremonies (*wowo*) are to take place in close consultation with the 428 kinsmen of the late *reth*, for they are materially concerned, and also with 766 the *ororo*[2] who are largely responsible for the funeral arrangements. In fact there was some argument between the *reth*-elect and the immediate family of the late *reth*. The former insisted that all disputes over the inheritance of the royal cattle should be settled before the final mourning ceremonies should take place. During *reth* Dak's illness in hospital, his brother Col and his eldest son Adieng, had taken stealthy measures to hide some of the cattle which, by royal right, should pass to his successor and not to his personal heirs. 643 The decision was made in November and leads me to believe that the prevailing consideration is that the final mourning ceremonies should always be 766 completed by the next harvest, since the installation of the new *reth* should take place shortly after the crops have been gathered.[3]

The period between death and final burial therefore varies according to the time of year in which death takes place.

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[1] *pam*: Used only for members of the royal clan and for chiefs.

[767] [2] The *ororo*, originally descended from *reth* Ocolo and separated from the royal house. They have special functions to perform at the burial ceremonies and installation of a *reth*. See Howell and Thomson, *idem*, p. 6, and Pumphrey, *The Shilluk Tribe*, pp. 12-14.

[3] On this subject see Howell and Thomson, *op. cit.*, p. 127, *et seq.*, and Thomson, *op. cit.*, p. 152.

A [i.e., with Fadiet's. - Aug/1951]

24: Howell E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

537 643 *Jago* Yorleiker, the chief of Gol Nyikang, rose to make the first speech, carrying a spear in his hand. A delay occurred as the *reth's* drummer was missing and had to be found. Then *jago* Yorleiker, followed by *jago* Thabo of Golbainy and titular chief of Gol Dhiang, and other chiefs in order of precedence came forward to address the *reth* on his installation. Nearly all carried presentation spears which were thrust into the ground in front of the *reth*, though one or two, as in the case of *kwanyireth* Akwei Anyong of Detwok, placed a bead on the ground. The speeches were on the whole short, and took the form of exhortations to the *reth* to emulate his father's example and to work closely with the Government; to pay attention to his elder advisers; to visit all the Shilluk lands and to avoid favouritism; to deal fairly with the Shilluk. As each speaker finished he was applauded by the rattling of Nyikang's shield and the beating of the drum, for longer or shorter periods according to the quality, or perhaps, acceptability, of the speech. Those who were most honoured were accompanied back to their place by the shield-bearer before the latter turned to signal out the next speaker. Last of all the chiefs to speak were *jago* Ongwany *wad* Kak and *jago* Kwathi *wad* Kudjok of Tonga, the traditional wardens of the Shilluk Marches at the northern and southern extremities of their country.

Finally the *reth* rose to speak. He walked forward to where rows of spears had been stuck in the ground and there, amid reverent interjections of *wuo* from the assembled Shilluk, he harangued the chiefs for their failure to produce the cattle of the late *reth* which were his just due."

As he spoke he paced backwards and forwards along the lines of spears, evoking grudging grunts of agreement to his apparently rhetorical questions. Having delivered his speech, he stepped back, took hold of the ceremonial sword and made passes over the back of the white bull with a black face which had been tethered on his right. A Shilluk then speared the bull, again with considerable lack of skill, and the *reth* departed on his tour of the royal houses of Fashoda. A slight altercation broke out over who was to have which spears presented by the Chiefs, but the installation of *reth* Kur *wad* Fafiti, the thirty-second *reth* of the Shilluk, was over.

" As explained in a previous article (*S.N. & R.*, Vol. 33, Part 1) the immediate and personal heirs of the late *reth* had attempted to conceal many of the cattle which are royal property and should go to his successor.

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

766 The final ceremonies take place after an interval of a month or two. Cattle, varying in number according to the [782] eminence and wealth of the dead man's family, are driven in for sacrifice and distribution, after being slaughtered, among the participants. The men of the district march in, [535] village by village, and perform the funeral dance, first encircling the village on the outside, then saluting the tomb of the deceased; they advance, clashing spear on shield, to kneel on one knee before the grave, then retire and finally encircle the village, this time on the inside, before giving place to the next company. The whole performance is accompanied by the thudding of the drums and the chanting of [533] the praises of Nyikang and the dead prince. This dance concludes all public remembrance of the dead man. No record is made or kept of the day or month of his death and so nothing in the nature of an anniversary ceremony takes place. The hut under which he is buried is allowed to fall into ruins and [778] thus forms a tumulus over the grave. The place is then made tidy and a reed or thorn fence erected around it to preserve it from profane use.

The household utensils of the dead man are either burned or buried on the day of the funeral, but the rest of 768 his property, including his wives—for they are reckoned as 428 his chattels for which he paid so many head of cattle—is inherited by his relatives according to the directions given by the deceased. If he left no instructions for the dividing of his goods everything belongs to his eldest son, but he is expected to give a share to his brothers and his father's principal male relatives, brothers and half-brothers. The dead man's spears, his canoe and the necklace of large white beads, a token of his dignity, belong to the eldest son absolutely.

764 The funeral of a common Colo and the consequent cere- [565] monies differ in some respects from those of a Nyireth. The body is washed and shaved and adorned with beads, but since no commoner is allowed to wear a leopard skin, the skin of a serval cat is fastened round the loins. If the dead